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The Populist Revolution May Smash the Present Two Party System.

It may even sweep Pat Buchanan into the presidency.

by Paul Gottfried

Although both major parties seem vulnerable to division, right now the Democrats are more open to that danger. In pursuit of Jewish liberals, Hispanics, gays, and feminists, Democrats have moved away from where most of the votes stand.

The recent decision by President Clinton to have quota advocate Mary Frances Berry review affirmative action programs underscores his party's problem. Frightened by the opposition of Jesse Jackson, the Congressional Black Caucus, and California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, Clinton is upholding a policy despised by most Americans. He qualified his promise to reassess affirmative action by indicating his continued devotion to its "principle."

For the Democrats to shrink as a national political force, it is not necessary for them to lose 20-30% of the electoral base they commanded as late as 1992. Even a longterm drop of 5% in voting strength could bring them down in a system in which elections are often decided by a few percentage points. If the Democrats start to lose consistently in state and national races, their troubles will snowball. In the last few months they have already had two Senators and several Congressmen defect to the Republicans.

Possibly the Democrats will tack before they capsize, but I doubt it will happen. Through most of my lifetime the Democrats are the ones who have forced change while the Republicans have either worked to slow it down slightly or (as under Nixon and Ford) implemented the liberal Democratic agenda. Almost all the great presidential revolutionaries in our century have been Democrats, while even that self-proclaimed Republican counterrevolutionary, Ronald Reagan, did nothing to reverse the course of Democratic spending. One may disagree with the achievements of the Democrats, but they are the party of conviction, unlike Republicans, who are jobseekers intermittently impersonating conservatives.

But unhappily for the Democrats, their changes have put them athwart a rising populist tide, and on the side of public administrators and social-engineering judges. Without their discredited allies there is no way that they can advance their programs of "inclusiveness," secularism, and gender and lifestyle

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P.C. Watch

The Barometer of Tolerance

A conference on "Celebrating or Fearing Our Diversity: Ritual Dress as a Barometer of Tolerance" was held recently at the University of Toronto by the Campus Chaplains Association. The keynote speaker was Bernie Farber of the Canadian Jewish Congress, followed by a "Multi-Faith Panel Discussion: Sikh,

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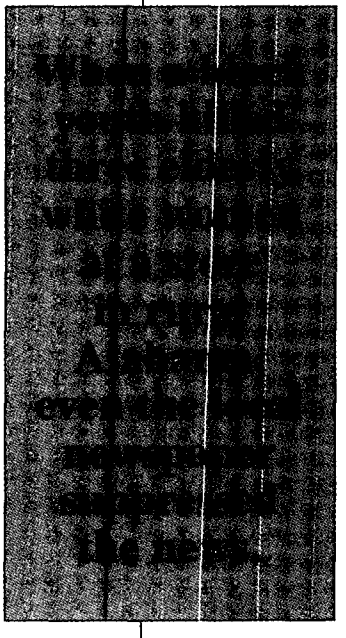
Jewish, Muslim" and a "buffet vegetarian dinner." The announcement for the May 25th event was illustrated with photos of women in, excuse me, strikingly un-Canadian clothes.

Is this really the new standard? Of course not. We can imagine how these liberals would react to members of the Michigan Militia in full regalia, not to speak of even less politically correct forms of ritual dress. Now *that* would be a real barometer of tolerance.

Equal Opportunity Striptease

The city of Bellevue, Washington, has fined a strip club $4,500 because its four-foot high stage is not accessible to performers in wheelchairs. There are—as yet—no wheelchair-bound strippers, but the Americans With Disabilities Act requires that there be no barriers if any apply. (*Seattle Times*, 5/12/95)

Mad About Mel



Gay groups are furious at Mel Gibson, this time for the portrayal of Edward II in his new movie, *Braveheart*. The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against De-famation (GLAAD) called it a "throwback to the classic celluloid 'queer' played for laughs as a simpering weakling." A few years ago, Gibson—whom GLAAD calls the "Jesse Helms of Hollywood"—denounced homosexuality in an interview, and was picketed for months as a result. (*Washington Post*, 5/25/95)

Braveheart, by the way, is a great paleolibertarian movie, a stirring tale about the life and death of William Wallace, the 13th-century Scots patriot who tried to free his country from English imperialism. It's definitely adult fare, mostly in the right sense, because of the realistic battle and torture scenes (Wallace was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for example). But Gibson is magnificent as Wallace, as is Patrick McGoohan as the monster Edward I. Peter Hanly is also good (and historically accurate) as Edward II.

Also in accord with accuracy: every government official is corrupt, tyrannical, greedy, and bloodthirsty. Best of all, Gibson shows medieval Scotland as a devoutly Catholic society without a hint of the bigotry that has become Hollywood's trademark.

Startling News From the Social Sciences

"Regardless of country or class," according to studies by University of Michigan psychology professor David Buss, "men seek younger, physically attractive women, while women want partners who are mature and affluent."

For "women, stability and security are crucial. They have to bear the consequences of mating. Men do not, and if given the chance will indulge in casual sex far more readily."

In one campus study, "students were approached by attractive members of the opposite sex and asked the following consecutive questions: 'Would you like a date?' 'Would you come back to my apartment?' "Will you have sex with me?'"

"Fifty percent of women said yes to the first question, six percent to the second and none to the last. For men, the percentages were 50, 69, and 75 respectively." (*Washington Times*, 5/23/95)

Satanism in Norway

Some hate crimes are more equal than others. For example, there has been no U.S. publicity, so far as I can tell, about Satanists burning down more than two dozen churches in Norway during the run-up to the 1,000-year anniversary of Christianity in that country. Wooden churches dating to the 12th century have been destroyed.

The Norwegian Satanists are followers of San Francisco Devil-worshipper Anton LeVay. So far, 12 of them have been convicted of arson, including Satanic leader Varg Virkernes, who also murdered a rival.

D.C. Crew

"A gay men's social club where the lights are low and patrons must leave their clothes in lockers has opened near downtown Washington," writes Amy Goldstein in the *Washington Post* (4/17/95).

"The owner of the month-old Crew Club, D.C. Allen, says he has created a clean, safe space for gay men." But critics say he has "created a throwback to the bathhouses," fostering "promiscuous, anonymous" sex.

Allen has decorated the club in "the Mary Tyler Moore look," complete with a row of "chain-link cages." Critics want them removed because they tempt the customers, in ways unexplained, to engage in "promiscuous, anonymous" sex.

Relative Value

When a white man opened fire in a rural Colorado supermarket and killed his wife, her boyfriend, and another man, it was national

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news. When a black youth killed three elderly white women at a store in rural Alabama, even the local newspaper suppressed the news.

Yet if a 15-year-old white boy had calmly put bullets in the heads of three elderly black women and then stolen their purses, we would have had entire college courses on it.

As it is, one alleged remark by a white principal in Wedowee, Alabama, is nationwide news for months, and when a black man burns the high school down, it's considered the town's just deserts.

No Resistance

The U.S. Air Force Academy has dropped all "resistance" training, in which cadets were taught how to respond when taken prisoner. The 26-year-old program was expanded to deal with sexual assault after female soldiers were raped during the Gulf War. But two female cadets complained that the training itself was "sexual harassment," so no cadets, male or female, will receive this training now. (*New York Times*, 4/30/95)

Sit Down

The DePaul University student newspaper was shut down for weeks by demonstrators, and its editors and writers almost tossed out of school, for reporting on a riot on campus. The newspaper had identified those responsible as black males. This—although true—was "insulting, offensive, and perpetrated negative stereotypes of blacks," said sit-downer Eric Wright. (*Washington Times*, 4/11/95)

A Richer Spectrum of Humanity

For years, points out Joseph Berger for the N.Y. Times News Service, the Ithaca, New York, school system has had three levels of classes: honors for smart, regents for average, and local for low-wattage students.

Now, thanks to the superintendent, "Dr. James E. Lorthridge, a black educator who grew up in the segregated South and has a strong interest in promoting diversity," the honors and regents classes have been merged as a "prelude to the superintendent's goal of eliminating all tracking." That way, "students would be exposed" to a "richer spectrum of humanity."

Samosadat

An Indian cook was fired by a British school because he refused to cook anything but hot, spicy curries. Children in Stourbridge, England, refused to eat the food, and "we would find samosas (Indian turnovers) hidden behind radiators and under mats," said a teacher. Naturally, the cook is suing, claiming he was fired because of racial discrimination. After all, the curries, he said, were "good enough for his own family."

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Friends

At the request of student Rachel Bauchman, a federal appeals court judge barred the choir of West High School in Salt Lake City from singing any songs that mention God at their graduation.

But after the program was over, choir member Will Badger stepped up to the microphone and asked the audience to join him in singing one of the banned songs, "Friends," since it was a local tradition. He was pulled off the stage by a security guard, and the choir director and principal tried to stop the singing, waving their arms and shouting, but it was to no avail as the students and audience joined in. Bauchman and her mother walked out.

The principal says he is going over videotapes of the event to be able to identify all the culprits, who face suspension or expulsion from school.—L.H.R., Jr..■

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egalitarianism. Even their mediacrat allies can no longer help them into power. By now the public distrusts the media even more than it does the Democratic Party.

This does not mean that the Republicans are home free. Until now the unprincipled party has benefited from Democratic eccentricity without having to offer strong alternatives. Republican presidential candidates Robert Dole and Phil Gramm, for example, claim to oppose abortion but have spent more time attacking anti-abortion "extremists" than upholding a right to life. Neither has challenged the judicial usurpation of *Roe v. Wade*, and they and Pete Wilson waffled in the past on affirmative action. Newt Gingrich stood on the fence while Californians debated Proposition 187 and social services to illegal aliens. All of this typifies Republican practice.

But they also have to deal with the Christian and populist Rights, which are eager to take on the other side. It is the engaged Republican Right that is forcing other Republicans into a confrontation with liberals. And the growing presence of vocally conservative young Con-

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gressmen and Senators will likely increase the pressure to make their party stand for something other than patronage.

This will also drive Republicans of the Left and Center-Left, like Senators Hatfield, Lugar, Kassebaum, and Spector, toward new political allies, even outside their own party. It may push Republican as well as Democratic refugees into forming a new party.

This new formation would occupy the Center-Left and try to absorb the current Democratic core constituencies. It would also attract neoconservatives, nostalgic for the old Democratic Party of Hubert Humphrey and Scoop Jackson. Ben Wattenberg, Nathan Glazer, and Joshua Muravchik would no doubt feel at home in such a party. These and other *Commentary* contributors have worked persistently to restore the Democrats to their pre-McGovernite past. Many of these are pro-immigration neoconservatives who have stressed outreach to blacks, Jews, and Hispanics; and led by Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett, they would gravitate toward a reconstructed centrist Democratic Party.

Will the resurgent Right fall prey to the neoconservatives and to business-as-usual Republicans?

In this hypothetical revamping, which does not seem unlikely, the Republicans would become the advocates of the populist Right. Devolution of power to states and localities, restrictions on immigration, the cutoff of foreign aid, and an open cultural war against the social Left, are all positions that would be integral to this new Republican Party. Such positions have varying degrees of popular support, and in California, Pete Wilson has embraced several of them despite his deserved reputation as a liberal Republican. It is Republican ties to the neoconservative and globalist policies of the "respectable" Right that until now have impeded this populist transformation.

If a second, more liberal party were to occupy the Center and Center-Left, the reconstructed Republicans would move Right in a hurry. But such a new direction would depend upon the way in which the other party split up and reorganized itself.

If the Democrats persist in their present course, a breakup and reorganization will definitely occur. White male Christians have become a recognizable voting bloc in the Northeast and Midwest as well as in the South and West. They form a formidable potential anti-Left bloc; and if the sociologist Donald Warren is correct, they may also provide the nucleus for a Middle American Radical explosion against the managerial state.

On the other hand, with the already declining membership of industrial unions and the vanishing of the specifically blue-collar vote, it may be hard to create a Left-of-Center national party upon a working class foundation. Congressman Gephardt's efforts to appeal to class envy may be the best that the Democrats can do. But even that will not reverse established political trends.

There is now an ethnic, as opposed to working-class, constituency; and, for the most part, it is socially conservative and opposed to the federal government's involvement with international banking and multinational corporations. That kind of involvement, plus the promotion of radical lifestyles, has defined the present Democratic administration; and the offspring of what used to be the white working class will not run back to the Democratic Party unless it changes itself dramatically.

Far more likely, the pro-internationalist, big-government Democrats will moderate their social stands to join both neoconservatives and Dole-Republicans in a Center-Left coalition. This will happen as necessity creates a marriage of convenience. This marriage will be a response to, among other things, populist-devolution pressures on the Right and to the ascendancy of what are now the Republican congressional backbenchers.

Lew Rockwell has observed that Gingrich helped Clinton with both GATT and the Mexican bailout before the force of a rightwing Republican Congress could make itself felt. Henceforth Gingrich and Dole will have to sit on the young Turks who, unlike them, feel no loyalty to the reigning Washington establishment.

Such idealists have no reason to care if Morton Kondracke tells them to consult with Bill Kristol, as he urged Republican presidential candidates to do in a column. Nor will they rush to ingratiate themselves with Kondracke and other Washington journalists, as Gramm did when he referred to the soporific young Kristol as "the best issues person in the country."

Unlike Dole and Gramm, who are said to be "wooing Kemp fol-

If there is a political symbol for this explosion of populism in America it is Patrick J. Buchanan. On Friday, June 30, I hosted a rally for Pat. It was an exciting standing-room-only event. The money poured in for Pat's campaign. Buchanan is astonishing the political gurus. He is running first or second in every poll. The establishment is having difficulty suppressing their collective nausea. I love it! Burt Blumert.

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lowers," populist Republicans will treat Kemp, Kristol, and Kondracke as returned goods. In this projected course of events, the media and journalists will face a self-identified American people demanding control of their lives and property. And if these voters mean business, they will also abandon any party that fails to give them back both.

This is not intended as paleocon happy talk. It indicates what seems to me a window of opportunity for a populist counterrevolution opened by last November's election and by the inability of the Democrats to abandon their principles and core constituencies.

But will the resurgent Right fall prey to the neoconservatives and to business-as-usual Republicans? This may occur in the short term, but in the long term it is less likely to matter.

Unless the coopters can address the issues which have galvanized the populist Right, they will not be able to manage it. As in the past they will speak for the Right on TV and write columns explaining what the people want but are unable to say. And their liberal friends will continue to make flattering distinctions between the George Wills and Mona Charens, with whom they dialogue, and the bigoted yahoos whom they never meet.

But the rage which comes out of the "fever swamps," the image beloved of R.J. Neuhaus in identifying the real Right's abode, will continue to grow, for the simple reason that *nothing* has been done for several generations to break the Left's hold on government. That hold has been cumulative and never seriously opposed by either of the two national parties. But now the Left's programs, typified by Social Security, look outdated as well as ill-conceived.

On the other hand, the permanent, unelected national government and its extensions in the state bureaucracies have used these entitlement dinosaurs to blackmail the public into accepting confiscatory taxes and federal supervision of their economic and social activities. The managerial state has become grasping as well as unaccountable. In recent years it has also turned therapeutically intrusive, without recognizing any limits on its power; and it is increasingly ineffective in defending life, property, and our porous national borders.

Why should anyone, except for its clients, or social engineering mediacrats, accept the central government's legitimacy? It is that rhetorical question which today is being asked across the country and in all probability at least one of our two parties will try to answer it by calling for radical surgery on America's diseased body politic. That party will be on the populist Right and will bear no family resemblance to either of the two current organizations, which exist to arrange elections and distribute patronage. And this populist avenger will press on with its house-cleaning, unmindful of journalistic judgment or of those gurus whom Washington-liberals condescend to choose for the Right.■

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Powerful elements of the GOP are nervous that they have no shoe-in candidate.

President Gingrich?

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

He loves it, all this begging and pleading. Save us, Newt!Run, Newt, Run! Please, Newt, Please! Gingrich has done nothing to discourage this rampant speculation, and his advisers have done much to encourage it.

First it was Fred Barnes, the neocon newsman late of the *New Republic*, who suggested that Newt would run for president in 1996. Then William Kristol intimated to the *New York Times* that the Kristol Family certainly wouldn't be opposed. Rush Limbaugh hinted it would be a good idea. Gingrich took a well-publicized "vacation" in New Hampshire. Finally, in a *Business-week* interview, reporters asked Gingrich himself what would make him run. Seven million signatures on a petition would do the trick, he said, and some people started collecting them. Later he said he was just joking, but those present at the interview said they saw no winks or nods.

If Newt "Bailout-the-Peso" Gingrich does run and get the nomination, we will have to assess the relative damage to the country of: 1) a government gridlocked between a Republican Congress with a bad leadership and Slick Willy's White House, or 2) a unified, one-party state led by big-spending, big-taxing, pro-war neoconservative internationalists.

It's no secret that powerful elements of the GOP are nervous that they have no shoe-in candidate, either for the nomination or the general election. The conventional view is that every candidate is weak in his own way: e.g. this guy doesn't like the religious right; that guy isn't liked by the religious right, etc. Prototypical of this style of analysis is a column by ex-*National Review* publisher William Rusher, who sizes up the candidates one by one.

Rusher pans Dole because he "doesn't pretend to be a 'movement

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conservative,'" and, even worse, he "entered politics before the conservative movement in its modern form even existed." Bill, stop making the case for Bob! Alas, Dole is not as good as Rusher inadvertently makes him sound.

Writing in the *New York Times*, Dole summed up his view of the glorious Republican Party. It's not "isolationist," he protested. It's "the party of Operation Desert Storm, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and most-favored-nation treatment for China."

I'll take isolationism, thanks. Rusher won't, of course, because he endorsed the war for the Emir of Kuwait as well as the Nafta and Gatt treaties. Rusher may care less about China because, unlike Dole's Kansas, Rusher's San Francisco grows no wheat to export at taxpayer expense (although I can think of some San Francisco exports I'd like to send to China). Dole and Rusher have more in common, then, than he leads us to believe.

Rusher then moves on to Gramm. There's plenty wrong with him, including his pork barreling and the wide gulf between his words and actions. But the only reason Rusher can dream up to oppose him is the "forgivable fear" that his "Southern drawl" will be a "serious handicap in Northern primaries." In fact, it's largely a Texas drawl, if an affected one (Gramm is from Georgia). Besides, the brogues of Clinton, Perot, Carter, and Johnson were keys to their political appeal.

Indeed, it may turn out that the drawl is the best thing Gramm has going for him. It underscores the message of his campaign ("I'm from Texas, not the Beltway"). If he can't get the nomination, it's because this is seen as a fib too. He's **too** much a part of Washington. Finally, Rusher dismisses Buchanan and Dornan on grounds that they "just aren't taken seriously."

Note the responsibility-shedding passive voice. Does Rusher mean that the voters don't take them seriously? In fact, Buchanan is doing quite well, and Rusher is only able to gloss over this fact by making Dornan and Buchanan a package deal.

Far from leading the revolution, Gingrich is its chief betrayer.

Does Rusher mean that *he* doesn't take them seriously? He should say so, and then explain what that has to do with predicting the behavior of primary voters. Or perhaps he means that the media do not take them seriously. But this would be a strange argument from the author of a book arguing that the media are out of touch with the public.

In fact, we all know what Rusher means by the missing subject in his sentence. He means that his *benefactors* do not take Buchanan seriously. *National Review*, the neocon foundations, the neocon thinktanks, the party elites, and the Washington conservatives oppose Buchanan. Rusher's point is roughly the same as the one he made against Dole: Bill Buckley doesn't like him. This is, like the opposition of the party elites, a giant point in Buchanan's favor.

Rusher ends his analysis of Gingrich's prospects with a warning not to "count him out. Conservatives may not be willing to see their current opportunity to transform America thwarted by the lack of a colorful candidate." But Rusher's diagnosis is wrong at its very core.

The problem is that there is no candidate who can both satisfy the demands of the party's power elite and its grassroots activists, much less the mass of voters. This does not reflect a "weakness" in the candidates. It reflects the hugely divergent interests of the rulers and the ruled, in the Republican Party as well as the country at large.

This is nowhere better illustrated than with the Gatt treaty and the Mexican bailout. Both were rammed through over the objections of back-bench Republicans, primary voters, and the general public. It was Rusher's favored candidate who made both possible.

Gatt was passed in the 1994 lame-duck session under Gingrich's leadership. And the *Washington Post* revealed that the idea of having the Clinton administration bailout Mexico without Congressional approval was also Gingrich's. Indeed, he was the first to bring it up in the secret White House planning session, and he pushed it hard.

In addition, Gingrich has thwarted the will of the Republican masses and backbenchers on a host of other issues, including gun control, tax cuts, foreign aid, and the Endangered Species Act. Far from leading the revolution, he is its chief betrayer.

Gingrich's first action as a Congressman was to push trade sanctions against South Africa, a goal then only favored by the extreme left. But Republicans were so enraptured at his attacks on Tip O'Neil that all else was forgotten. Even Newt's votes for the civil rights amendments, the Clean Air Act, the Americans With Disabilities Act, and a host of other horrible bills haven't harmed his reputation.

Gingrich is arguably the only potential candidate who can talk (most of the time) like a conservative while actually doing the liberals' bidding. That's what makes him attractive to Rusher, the Kristols, *National Review*, and the rest of the gang. Slight-of-hand conservatism is their game, and they need a candidate who can play it. That's both the necessary and sufficient cause for the talk of his candidacy.

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The only people we can count on to tell the truth on Gingrich may be liberals such as (deep breath) Al Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal*. Yet he makes a powerful argument that a number of problems would haunt a Gingrich candidacy: ethical failings, known and yet-to-be-known; other ominous personal "allegations that aren't newsworthy for a speaker, but might be for a would-be president"; pathological "dissembling" (lying); and a set of "exceedingly flexible principles," not to speak of a hyperactive personality. Give this boy some Ritalin.

Gingrich's gurus are pinkos Alvin and Heidi Toffler, haters of Christianity, the traditional family, and bourgeois society. As a neocon, Gingrich is also—like the Tofflers—a statist and a warmonger who wants to strengthen the executive dictatorship. He want to go to war against Iran, as a start. But when he attempted to repeal the War Powers Act—a very mild restraint on the ability of the president to go to war on his own say-so in violation of the Constitution—he was defeated by Republican freshmen and other real conservatives in the party.

In one of his typically overpassioned speeches, Gingrich had urged Republicans to "allow the commander in chief to be the commander in chief. As chief spokesman in the House Republican Party, I want to strengthen the current Democratic President because he's the President of the United States, and the President of the United States on a bipartisan basis deserves to be strengthened in foreign affairs and strengthened in national security. He does not deserve to be undermined and cluttered and weakened."

Forget it, Newt, said Rep. Toby Roth (R.-Wisc.), this is "not a monarchy." Nor is the job of the U.S. government, as the eerily millennialist Gingrich insists, "to lead the human race," because "every time we start to pull out, we leave behind a dark and bloody conflict. Just look at Bosnia, look at Chechnya, look at Rwanda. Whether we want to or not, we're tied to the world." Anybody got a pair of scissors?

It's true that the U.S. intervened in Rwanda and Yugoslavia on the wrong side, with foreign aid and weapons. But Newt, when was the U.S. in Chechnya? Or were your pals in the CIA responsible for that too?

If he does enter the race, only one contender can challenge Gingrich from the Right. Much rests on Buchanan's shoulders.

The Feminist Shell Game

by Michael Levin

The feminists of the 1960s seemed to want equality. There are no innate sex differences, they said: absent "sexism," men and women would share all tasks from war-making to child-rearing, and gender itself would matter no more than eye color. Despite its preposterousness, this ideal inspired much public policy.

But not before mutating. Equality turned out to mean treating the sexes alike only when like treatment favors women; when men stand to gain, equality means giving women an edge. Having been damaged by their socialization, it was argued, women cannot compete against men as equals and deserve a leg up until the damage is undone. Hence refusing to hire women is discrimination, but hiring quotas that exclude men are just compensation.

The *raison d'etre* of "sexual harassment," a phenomenon unheard of before feminism, is keeping men off balance.

These double standards were hard to reconcile with the sameness of the sexes, especially since feminists never said precisely when sexist socialization would be overcome. A new premise was needed to justify men's continuing subordination, and it was that men and women are exactly alike in every way *except that men are bad*—so bad that women (although entirely self-sufficient) need protection from them.

The currently most conspicuous result of this reasoning is "sexual harassment," a tort under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. All large firms now have sexual harassment policies. Posters prominently displayed at universities warn ominously that harassment is "against the law." Hardly a week passes when some prominent figure is not pilloried in the media for being a harasser. Public schools teach children the merits of condoms, but an adult man making a pass at an adult woman risks his career.

Most people understand "sexual harassment" to mean an aggressive offer of advancement in exchange for sex, or unwanted sexual attention. Even assuming that these actions are wrong—I come to that issue below—the legal concept of harassment has grown far broader. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defines it as anything that causes a complainant to feel uncomfortable. Under this "effects" test, a man can harass inadvertently, and, since this

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test affirmatively obligates employers to maintain an atmosphere offensive to no-one, it keeps men in a perpetual state of uncertainty. The Supreme Court, somewhat more cautiously, defines harassment as behavior offensive to a "reasonable person," but this test forgets that there are no "persons," only men and women, whose ideas of offensiveness often diverge. The "reasonable person" rule is also disturbingly vague.

In fact, the raison d'etre of "sexual harassment," a phenomenon unheard of before feminism, seems to be keeping men off balance. The relative novelty of the issue is due in part, of course, to the infrequency of causal contact between the sexes in the past. Twelfth-century men and women did not work side by side at the office. Also, women used to depend for protection on their own menfolk—fathers, brothers, and husbands—not government. Regnant social norms decreed that women were to be treated with special care. In particular, the difference between the male and female sex drives—the male's being more urgent and labile—was thought to warrant different codes of conduct for men and women.

Technology changed the nature of work, but the force that most weakened men's self-policing was feminism itself. Constant feminist sneering at chivalric norms made public endorsement of chivalry impossible. Any hint of a sexual double standard was sure to carry feminists into transports of indignation.

Yet vehement rejection of the old ways was only one of two wildly conflicting messages feminists broadcast. Feminists scorned the old ways because men and women are supposed to be similar in all ways, including sexually—from which feminists duly concluded that women are as eager as men for causal sex, or would be if patriarchy had not turned them into "female eunuchs." And men, hearing these paeans to sexual liberation, naturally assumed they were being invited to an orgy; if men have become more sexually aggressive in the last thirty years, it is probably because they thought they had been asked to be. But then, having thus aroused men, feminists turned around and delivered the other message: arousal must be made illegal! Sex in the abstract was the summum bonum, but the concrete desires of men were bestial.

By endlessly demanding that gender be ignored, feminists waived their right to insist on deference to female sensibilities.

Provocation followed by sudden rejection is rooted in dislike of men and seeks to confuse, demoralize, and above all inhibit them. This, I suggest, is the origin of sexual harassment.

But even taken in its narrow, everyday sense, "harassment" should not be illegal. Feminists, certainly, are the last people who can complain about male crudity in the workplace. Since men don't mind working where (say) course language is used, a feminist claiming the right to be treated as a man is claiming the right to work *in such environments*, and can hardly insist at the same time that men change their ways to suit her sex. Consider an "equal opportunity" to be a chef, which is the opportunity to meet the standards applied to other chefs. Since these standards include the ability to work in a stifling kitchen, it would take a good deal of nerve to demand the chance to be a chef and then insist on an air-conditioned kitchen. By endlessly demanding that gender be ignored, feminists waived their right to insist on deference to female sensibilities.

Feminist incoherence aside, talking dirty and propositioning coworkers are exercises of free speech. A woman who dislikes a proposition is free to reject it. If her boss won't promote her unless she sleeps with him, or she simply finds her male colleagues too crude, she can quit. Feminists allege an asymmetry in power between male superiors and female subordinates, but an employer cannot literally force an employee do anything she (or he) does not want to. Employment is a voluntary association which, contractual commitments aside, employer or employee may end when either becomes displeased. This right to end associations at will implies that a female employee has no duty to put up with obnoxious colleagues and a lecherous boss while remaining on the job, *and* that her boss has no duty to retain her while changing his ways to make her feel more comfortable. Each may inform the other that they're parting company.

The market would handle sexual harassment, to the extent that it is a problem, by employment contracts designed to insure a hassle-free environment. Although women as well as men might be asked to enter such agreements, they would in essence require men to control themselves. Market pressure would force these agreements toward specificity about what each employer will and will not permit in the way of language, fraternization, wall art, and other aspects of the workplace, for few employees would agree to be judged by a vague reasonableness test.

Employers who ask (male) employees to sign away the right to be boorish would find themselves competing with employers who do not.

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Were this contractual provision to prove popular, firms unwilling to insist on it would have to pay more for labor and pass along this added cost as higher prices. Labor market preferences, by punishing firms tolerant of boorishness, would have the effect of laws against harassment. If on the other hand the labor force were indifferent to anti-harassment provisions, Title VII would be shown to serve an unreal need. And if, finally, anti-harassment provisions were unpopular, presumably mostly among men, firms intolerant of harassment would be the ones pressed to change, and Title VII would stand revealed as biased against males.

Because men are more disposed than women to the conduct these contracts curb, male and female employees would probably view them differently. To women they would be a shield, to men a constraint. On average, therefore, women might forego some wages to work for firms that offered this shield, while men might insist on higher wages before doing do. The labor force might fractionate in odd ways, as employers who forbid harassment attracted both women averse to the coarser side of men, and men willing to suppress that side for a price. A feminist who sacrificed income so as not to be propositioned might find her office mate a male chauvinist earning a premium for not propositioning her.

At the moment, men and women seem unsure of what they want from each other. So far as the workplace goes, the clearest signals are sent by the market. Women who wish to be chaperoned will seek employers who promise to chaperon them. Their more adventurous sisters will go elsewhere. Everyone gets what he wants and, one would think, deserves.

Dr. Levin is professor of philosophy at the City College of New York.

The Crimes of Roosevelt

by Samuel Francis

"It seems to me," wrote H.L. Mencken in his diary on April 13, 1945, the day after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, "to be very likely that Roosevelt will take a high place in American popular history—maybe even alongside Washington and Lincoln.... He had every quality that morons esteem in their heroes."

On the 50th anniversary of Roosevelt's death last spring, those who still worship at his altar gathered in Warm Springs, Georgia, where he died, to esteem their hero once more. But for all the weepy tributes by Democrats (and not a few Republicans and neo-conservatives) to the godfather of American liberalism and its crippling legacies, the truth is that the damage Roosevelt inflicted on this country and the world still cannot be calculated. If Republican leaders like Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole solemnly invoke him as a model and a hero, it shows that they have not even begun to understand the ruin he left behind him.

In foreign affairs, Roosevelt pushed and pulled the country toward war.

Roosevelt's role in designing and building the leviathan state is well-known, but in the context of the 1930s, its meaning appears as a good deal more sinister than foolish economic policies and unwarranted tax burdens. Roosevelt was in fact a figure of the same kidney as other leviathan-creating forces of the era, Hitler and Stalin. His National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), struck down as unconstitutional by a unanimous Supreme Court, closely resembled the corporate state constructed by Mussolini.

The NIRA, creating an incestuous union of Big Business and Big Government against small, independent businessmen, was an embodiment of that fusion of state and economy that James Burnham dubbed the Managerial Revolution. In his fury at the court's rejection, Roosevelt turned his wrath against the "Nine Old Men" who had dared defy his titanic will.

His "court-packing" plan was intended to club the court and the Constitution into obedience to him and the bureaucratic elite he created. It failed, though it frightened the court into more docility toward FDR's schemes.

By the standards of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, itself modeled on the New Deal, Roosevelt's bureaucratic state looks like a pygmy, but it was he who initiated and legitimized, for Democrats as well as Republicans, the idea of conscripting federal power as the engineer of social and economic institutions. The vast octopus of bureaucrats, goon squads, and social tinkerers that lurks in Washington and winds itself around the country's throat today is Roosevelt's offspring.

Like the Caesarist strongmen in Europe, Roosevelt relied on his own charisma, carefully and deceitfully developed, and the executive power of his office to stroke a frightened electorate into compliance and to bludgeon critics. His welfare projects went far beyond aid to the poor and wound up bribing whole sectors of American society—farmers, business, banks, intellectuals—into dependence on him and the state he created. Through his subsidies to

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intellectuals—"musicians, dancers, actors, writers, historians, even to students trying to finance themselves through college," wrote the sympathetic historian Richard Hofstatdter—"a generation of artists and intellectuals... became wedded to the New Deal and devoted to Rooseveltian liberalism." Their corrupted descendants still thrive today through federal endowments for the arts and humanities and in ideologically disciplined universities dependent on federal support.

In foreign affairs, Roosevelt pushed and pulled the country toward war, even as he piously promised peace. He allowed undercover British agents to operate freely and illegally within the United States to use this country for their own country's aims. Had his illegal and unconstitutional actions become known, even his own party would have impeached him.

His unprovoked belligerency toward the Japanese as well as the Germans helped cause the attack on Pearl Harbor, even as he and his tame eggheads vilified and persecuted the critics of his policies as "Nazis" and "traitors." From the time of his "Quarantine Speech" in October 1937 until Japanese Zeros swooped down on Pearl Harbor four years later, U.S. policy in the Far East sought in every possible way to support China against Tokyo and impede the Japanese war effort. It did so even though the United States had no defense treaties or obligations in the Far East and despite the official U.S. position of neutrality.

FDR's unprovoked belligerency toward the Japanese as well as the Germans helped cause the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Within a year of the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the U.S. government was purchasing silver from the Chinese and allowing their government to buy American military supplies in return. Congress itself authorized the construction of new aircraft carriers and doubled the number of naval aircraft, a military escalation obviously aimed at Japan. In July 1939, Roosevelt renounced the U.S.-Japanese commercial treaty of 1911. A year later, he slapped an embargo on Japanese purchases of aviation fuel and high-grade iron and steel scrap metal. In September, the embargo was extended to cover all scrap metal, and in October 1940, the United States and Great Britain initiated joint naval staff talks. The U.S. actions were responses to Japanese attacks in China and Southeast Asia, but in no way did they respond to any threats or aggression by the Japanese against the United States.

When Japan moved into southern Indochina in July 1941, Roosevelt froze its assets in the United States and embargoed its purchases of high-octane gasoline. The latter move in effect ended all trade between the two nations and directly threatened Japan's ability to maintain mechanized mobility on the Asian mainland. Meanwhile, the U.S. government had extended $120 million in official loans to the Chinese in 1940. In April 1941, Roosevelt legalized the participation of American pilots in the Chinese air force, in which Claire Chennault and his "Flying Tigers" had been serving for four years already with secret approval from the White House in violation of the Neutrality Act.

At the same time Roosevelt was meddling in Asia and provocatively intervening on behalf of one belligerent against another, he was pursuing similar interventionist policies in Europe. In September 1940, he issued an executive order transferring 50 U.S. destroyers to Great Britain in exchange for 99-year leases to British bases in Bermuda and Newfoundland. The *New York Daily News* editorialized at the time that through the "destroyers-for-bases" deal the country "has one foot in the war and the other on a banana peel." Such diplomacy, coupled with the Lend-Lease program in 1941, "was more than an abandonment of neutrality," wrote diplomatic historian Thomas A. Bailey, "because neutrality had already been abandoned." The "transfer of 50 warships from the Navy of the United States to that of a belligerent was not only a gross violation of neutrality, but also of pre-Hitler international law," he wrote.

Still, in the presidential campaign of 1940, Roosevelt was beaming to the "mothers of America" that "your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." Faced with implacable hostile intervention by Washington and the growth of U.S. naval power, Japanese leaders realized they would soon be unable to repel U.S. forces if they did nothing to resist Roosevelt's sly belligerency. It was that realization that led to their foolish decision to launch an attack before they were overwhelmed. When Cordell Hull issued an ultimatum that Japan withdraw from all territories occupied since 1931, the Japanese resolved to strike a surprise blow that would knock America out of the war before it was prepared to win it. Historian John Toland has concluded that Roosevelt and his top henchmen knew about the planned attack on Pearl Harbor but deliberately failed to prevent or resist it to consummate FDR's compulsion to bring the United States into the war.

No sooner had the war begun than Roosevelt, spurred on by his pet journalists, tried to prosecute the *Chicago Tribune* under the Espio-

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nage Act for its unsparing attacks on his unprovoked belligerency and violations of law, but the grand jury dismissed the indictment. Once Roosevelt had engineered America into the war, his wartime diplomacy helped turn half a continent over to communism, and his own administration was riddled with communist agents whose ideology was all but indistinguishable from the "liberalism" they prattled. Only today, when the archives of the Soviet spy agencies are being opened, are we beginning to learn the full dimensions of the real treason that Roosevelt and his "brain trust" nurtured in the nation's bosom.

"He was the first American," wrote Mencken, "to penetrate to the real depths of vulgar stupidity. He never made the mistake of overestimating the intelligence of the American mob. He was its unparalleled professor." Let the Democrats, and those Republicans who will, cloak themselves in this great criminal's blood-stained robes. For those Americans who love the Old Republic he destroyed, Franklin Roosevelt was and remains our archetypal enemy.■

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Love the Strangler?

by L.H.R., Jr.

After the Oklahoma bombing, Bill Clinton sought to stir up public devotion to the federal government. It wasn't easy. As a rule, if you want people to love you, you shouldn't lie to them, steal their property, corrupt their children, and drive their businesses into the ground.

As history shows, government is the source of nearly every man-made horror, from war to genocide to taxes. And the U.S. government has become the primary enemy of everything Americans hold dear: liberty, property, virtue, community, and faith.

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The Founders knew that governments have always taxed wealth, regulated enterprise, inflated the currency, and otherwise impoverished the many to reward the few. It's no surprise that the soil of this country has nurtured the greatest anti-government thinkers in history: Paine, Henry, Jefferson, Randolph, Calhoun, Nock, Mencken, Rothbard, and many more.

These men taught us to keep a jaundiced eye on the central state, which seeks to make us compliant and passive subjects. But the American tradition demands the opposite: a passionate longing for liberty, and a fierce opposition to those who threaten it.

A Gallup poll taken a few days after the bombing showed that 40% of the public—even in those hysterically pro-government days—regarded the central state as an *immediate* threat to their rights and liberties. Those disinterested scientists, the pollsters, were so shocked that they kept asking the question over and over again.

The elites regard such feelings as a pathology that must be cured, a mental illness spread through "talk radio" and "anti-government literature" that must be treated by D.C. therapists.

But loathing central power is an entirely rational response. Are we not supposed to notice who is stealing our freedom, impoverishing our families, and invading our communities? Can we really be expected to love our oppressors? Now *that* would be pathological.

In a better system, Americans would almost never have to worry about the federal government. And indeed, under the original compact between the states, they almost never had to.

Only shadows of that edifice exist today. Imperial wars and economic busts, both products of the politicians, have given the central government all the excuses it needed to betray the Constitution.

Most real people would rather ignore the government. They are too busy with jobs, church, and children to fool with politics. It requires what the Declaration of Independence called "a long train of abuses and usurpations" to arouse them.

The central government has done the job, however. In just the last few years, its new violations of liberty have triggered a huge increase in anti-government sentiment.

The American people are long-suffering, but when their own gov-

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ernment becomes their economic oppressor, and a far graver threat to their liberty than any foreign dictator could possibly be, their patience runs out.

The Bush and Clinton tax increases have devastated the productive. Government educational policies have promoted condoms and stupidity. The Brady Bill attacked both gun rights and federalism. The Clean Air Act amendments damaged businesses, states, and localities all across the country. The Endangered Species Act and wetlands regulations frightened every property owner.

The Americans With Disabilities Act mandates outrageously expensive changes in building codes, and orders businessmen not to turn down a person for a job, or to fire him, on grounds that he's "mentally disabled." That includes acting like a loon around the office.

White men have had it with affirmative action. Whether it's called "goals," "time-tables," or simply "civil rights," racial privilege is an affront to every standard of justice.

In public schools, there are quotas for honors programs while the rest of the curriculum is dumbed down. In colleges and universities, admissions are determined, and scholarships awarded, by victim-group category. Even grading is race-normed.

The feds have made it illegal for employers to run their businesses as they think best. The result is the Peter Principle run wild. Not even borrowing money from the bank can escape. If you're white, you're put through the wringer. But others need no credit or stable job history to exercise their civil right to a low-interest mortgage.

Unrelenting dollar debasement, courtesy of the Federal Reserve, means that everything is getting more expensive while the quality of everything is on the decline. Meanwhile taxes are absurdly high. The average person works into the month of June to pay all the costs of government. And what exactly does he get in return?

There was less grumbling when people believed that there was a threat from the basketcase known as the U.S.S.R. But today, Americans still have nearly half their income taken for...for what? So an imperial class can continue to live in the plush style to which it's become accustomed?

Are we not supposed to notice the tightening hands around our necks? Are we supposed to love the strangler?

Instead, the public is clamoring for a restoration of private property, self-government, and economic liberty. They want a return to the libertarian ideals of the Founders. What are those ideals? John Randolph of Roanoke laid them out in a speech in Congress:

"Love of peace, hatred of offensive war, jealousy of the state governments toward the general government; a dread of standing armies; a loathing of public debt, taxes and excises; tenderness for the liberty of the citizen; jealousy, Argus-eyed jealousy, of the patronage of the President."

Tom Paine's *Common Sense* helped bring about the revolution that still defines the American character, and it is his words—not Bill Clinton's—that represent the American creed: "government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one."

Can't this murderess be brought to trial for her crimes in Waco?

Janet Reno
Attorney General of the US, Commander of the forces that killed 23 children in Waco, Texas.

Our special new report "What REALLY Happened in Waco" smashes through Janet Reno's wall of lies and lays out an overwhelming case for indicting her for murder in Waco. This report, by RRR contributing editor, Justin Raimondo, nails Ms. Reno on...

Lie #1. **"We did everything possible to protect the children."**

Lie #2. **"The tear gas used to end the siege was no worse than a "minor irritant."** (The gas used was so vicious that it has been banned for use in warfare by the Chemical Weapons Convention, to which the US Government was a signatory.)

Lie #3. **"The Davidians attacked innocent government agents."**

Lie #4. **"This was only way we could arrest David Koresh."** (Federal BATF agents had Mr. Koresh under surveillance for months, and they knew he jogged outside the compound every day.)

"What REALLY happened at Waco..."

...will horrify and disgust you when you learn, for instance...

- Janet Reno brags publicly how two FBI videos will prove Davidians attacked first. But at the trial, she refuses to produce them. Says they were accidentally erased! (Page 74)
- Janet Reno approves blaring the sounds of a rabbit screaming as it was slaughtered in to the compound to harass the children. (Page 36, "What Really Happened At Waco.")
- How the BATF defied the law to illegally used military tanks and helicopter gun ships against American civilians. (Page 47)
- Did you know that the FBI delayed calling fire trucks for 8 crucial minutes? (Page 89, "What Really Happened at Waco")
- Once the fire engines arrived, why did the FBI prevent them from getting to the buildings where people were being burned alive? (Page 92)
- Sworn testimony during the trial of the few surviving Davidians revealed that no BAFT agent had a copy of the search warrant during the initial raid. No agent knew what the warrant said or what they were supposed to search for (Pages 31, 32 "What Really Happened at Waco").

By the time you finish reading "What REALLY Happened at Waco" your blood will be boiling. And you will be as convinced as I am that what happened at Waco was murder, pure and simple, and that Janet Reno was responsible.

Rush your $24.95 check or money order in for the book. Or, for just $24 more, renew your RRR subscription and take "What REALLY Happened at Waco" free as a bonus. Send your name, address, along with your check or MasterCard/Visa authorization to the Rothbard-Rockwell Report, Box 4091, Burlingame, California. 94011. Credit card orders please include full number and expiration date of your card.

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